1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

613 583 *Sub-clans and Kindreds.*—The principal clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a [616] process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

 [769] 593 888

governing his every-day life that if things are going wrong he takes his troubles and a pot of beer to his father (in the classificatory sense), who drinks it ceremonially and speaks the necessary words of comfort and assurance. For the Katab, though he may on occasion show disrespect to the head of his family, is a great believer in the magical power of the old man. To secure his father's blessing is as important for him as it was for Jacob, and to incur his curse or even censure is to lay himself open to one misfortune after another. And so a young man who has spoken angry words to his father or uncle will soon seek reconciliation by means of an offering of beer and a chicken. Or if he finds himself pursued by ill luck he will go to his father and inquire whether he had offended him at some time in the past. A married daughter, living in some distant village and having for some reason incurred her father's displeasure, will send her husband to her father with a chicken and beer, asking for forgiveness, and will throw ashes on her shoulders.

While your father is alive you have a living protector, and you do not, therefore, require to appeal to the dead; but if your father is dead you continue to take your troubles to him just as you did in his lifetime. And so the head of a family, having no living father, goes, as he feels the necessity, to his father's grave, and there deposits his flask of beer and his offerings of beniseed [1] and a cooked chicken. These he leaves overnight, addressing the spirit of his dead father and explaining the object of his coming. But, being the head of the family, he does not treat the matter as purely personal, and so he collects all his male relatives and may also invite male members of his wife's family. Next morning he escorts them to his father's grave and, assisted by them, repeats his requests of the previous evening. A little of the beer is poured on the grave and pieces of the chicken's flesh and beniseed are offered, the remainder of the offerings being eaten and drunk ceremonially by all present. There is no debauchery at the graveside; but on returning home free play is given to the feelings, and at the ensuing feast enormous quantities of beer are consumed, all members of the family, including females, taking a part. 769 782

The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members

[1] The use of beniseed in religious rites seems to be general among the pagan tribes of the Northern Provinces.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members
769 of the family which may include brothers, cousins, and nephews.
But if, for example, the head of the family has a nephew whose
●782 father is dead, why should the nephew not go direct to his father's
596 grave? The answer is that he has a living "father" in the person of his uncle, to whom in the ordinary way he takes his troubles. His wives may have run away, or he may have been unsuccessful in begetting children, or unfortunate in other respects. So he goes to his uncle and says: "I am luckless in all I do; perhaps it is because I have offended you." His uncle will take ashes, touch them with his tongue, spit them out, and say: "You have not offended me." The nephew may then say, "Perhaps it is because of some offence I committed against my father in his lifetime." The uncle would reply, "That may be, but let the matter rest at present." If the nephew is still pursued by ill-luck he would again approach his uncle, who would say, "Very well, I will take you to your father's grave and you can there make your offering."

782 The points to be noted are that if you have a living father
769 you take your trouble to him, and that even if your own father
592 is dead and you have a senior living relative you would not go to your father's grave without reference to him. Other noteworthy points are that neither males nor females make offerings
[562] at the grave of old women, though the death of an old woman is honoured by the same rites that mark the death of an old man. A woman has to make her petition to a dead father through a male. Women, indeed, appear to engage directly in no religious rites at all. The household head is thus the household priest, and the services of the high priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, are not ordinarily required even at harvest time, when each household, through the senior male, offers thanks with the first-fruits at the graves of the ancestors for the yearly
[793] supply of food. But on special occasions the assistance of the priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, is sought. Thus, if things are constantly going wrong in a house recently occupied, the householder may report the matter to the Magaji Elenowum, who may say that the trouble is due to resentment on the part of the ghost of the former householder, either for some neglect during his lifetime or on account of an improper burial. And so the new householder goes to the grave of the former householder and deposits beer and a dish of beniseed, to which some

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

782 769 582

scraps of meat have been added. Next day, accompanied by the Magaji and his assistants, and by the senior relatives of his household, he goes to the graveside. The Magaji inspects the dish of beniseed, and, if the ancestral ghost has partaken, there will be found in the dish a few hairs of the hide of some bush animal. Needless to say it is the Magaji alone who may make the inspection, and the hairs are always found. The youngest of the Magaji's assistants then offers a prayer: "I declare to our ancestral spirit that, if I have done him wrong, I come to him to seek forgiveness. I repent in order that I may find good fortune on earth at his hands. May Gwaza (God) grant that I may be blessed with children and wealth." The other assistants in turn make similar prayers, and finally the Magaji himself concludes by saying: "We have made common prayer and it has been received. Absolution has been granted you. Begone all of you to the bush, and may Gwaza prosper you and give you quarry to bring to me. If you fail to obey this command, then the blame is with you and has nought to do with your forefathers." They all rejoice and say they will go forthwith. The priest then takes the beniseed and meat offerings and gives a little to the head of the household and his companions in turn. He gives some of the beer to the householder, drinks some himself, and hands on the remainder to the others. Any of the beer left over has to be drunk by the priest himself. The young men then go off to hunt, and the quarry is brought to the priest, who divides it up among the members of the household and his own assistants, the major portion going to the priest and to the individual who had brought the quarry down.

596 578

It may be interesting to describe here the ceremony of reconciliation between two members of a family. It may be that a younger brother has quarrelled with an elder, and in a fit of temper the elder has told the younger that he never wishes to see his face again. This amounts to an imprecation, which the younger brother may ignore for some time. But the remembrance of it will rankle in his mind, and circumstances will soon arise which will make the memory of the imprecation intolerable. Sickness may invade his house. And so he will [171] resolve that the time has come for an atonement. With a flask of beer and a chicken he will go to his brother, and in the presence of the senior members of the family will formally repent, asking

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines. Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

Medicine and Diseases.—Illnesses and premature death are

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Morwa

any sacred place wearing a gown. The Morwa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab.

The priest plays a prominent part at the installation of the chief. He gives the chief a special draught to drink, and then ceremonially shaves and washes him, afterwards clothing him in a gown. The Morwa chief is, like his neighbours, the possessor of a sacred sword, the magical emblem. At the installation of a new chief the priest fetches the sword from the house of the late chief. It is carefully wrapped up and none may look on it except the priest and chief. The priest slays a goat and chicken (provided by the chief) and rubs the blood (mingled with water) on the sword, saying: "Sword I have brought you here that you may bless us. Let the chief and this town have prosperity and may no evil come, even to a child. For I perform the rites my father performed. Let not the chief die early, and may no sickness overtake him or his wives or his children." On each Friday for the first month or so of his reign, and at intervals throughout each year, the chief summons the priest to bring the sword. They drink some beer together, and then the priest removes some of the wrappings and shows a part of the knife to the chief, saying "Do you see the sword?" The chief replies, "I do and I rejoice." The priest then says, "Sword, let no evil come on the chief or his people or on any of our domestic animals. For I am of the ancient stock of this country, and these are the rites my forefathers performed."

A year after the installation the concluding rites are performed with feasting and sacrifice. The sword again plays a principal part, and the chief is then for the first time clothed in a black gown. Formerly he could only wear a white gown. The sword is a great asset to the chief; for, apart from the security which it confers on the owner, it is also a source of income. The possessors of minor titles believe that an occasional view of the sacred weapon will secure them also in their offices. They are permitted therefore to view the sword on payment of what must be, to them, a considerable sum.

The Morwa were head-hunters like their neighbours, and their rites were similar to those described in the Katab report. They did not take the heads of Katabs whom they killed, but they took their bodies home and buried them, and danced over the grave.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

241 ripening a fowl is sacrificed and its blood, together with the
775 leaves of the "Karran-Kwoi" and "tongwa," is put in a hole in the centre of the farm.

776 The spirits are subject to Gwaza, the supreme and beneficent
782 god who helps the living against evil ghosts. In drought the people pray to him for rain, facing first to the south, and then to the other points of the compass. The priests kill a fowl and place its blood, with a few of its feathers, on a stone two feet high in the sacred grove (at times some of its flesh is added), gia is then thrown three times on each corner of the stone and three incantations are spoken. Gwaza is believed to consume the offering and the petition is always granted.

776 When the new moon rises the people pray to Gwaza for health
821 and luck, and rejoice, but on this occasion no beer is drunk. They believe that the sun is a ball of fire, which falls into the water at night and becomes extinguished, but that it travels back to the east at night, at a higher level, and gets fresh fire from the supreme god. If a tree or house is set on fire by lightning the people must put out their old fires and kindle them afresh from this heavenly source.

761 The Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, and that when a man falls sick his soul leaves his body and journeys to this stream, where the spirits of the dead, who are assembled on the further shore, decide whether he may cross the bridge. Sometimes the decision is so long delayed that the spirit shrinks, and when it returns to the body has lost its full command. A first husband and wife will always come to the brink of the stream to greet the other, and both parents will come to welcome an unmarried child.

774 The soul leaves the body during sleep, as is proved both by dreams and by the fact that a person suddenly awakened has not full command of his faculties, which shows that the soul has not had time to return to the body. It is possible that the wandering soul may be caught and beaten, or its bowels or liver taken to a magic cave in the grove by the souls of evil men, who devour it. These evil souls glow like fire, which light is visible to the priests alone. When summoned to the injured man the priest calls out several names and the afflicted recognises
[754] that of his tormentor, who is summoned and shut into a room where a fire is burning, on which pepper is thrown, and there he
[683] is left until he promises restitution. If he fails to keep his promise he is sold as a slave, or choked.

No inanimate object has a soul, but the souls of animals may be born into the children of their slayer—it is doubtful, however, whether they can leave the living body.

798 Women and children are not allowed near the sacred groves,
688 nor may they speak of spirits under penalty of death.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38 Kagoro

262 Guinea-fowl and francolin are not eaten, nor may women eat dogs or fowls, though these restrictions do not apply to old women. Rats, mice, and bats are made into soup and eaten with the ashes of guinea-corn or millet, which is sometimes used in place of salt. The favourite drink besides gia is honey and millet, and palm wine.

[272] [273]

752 The pith of wild paw-paw is used to heal wounds, and a hot iron is applied to an aching tooth to make it come out easily. No amputations are performed.

764 When a death occurs women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm leaves, and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer-board, either close to the porch of the house if the dead had had children, or outside under the shelter of the wall.

Males are laid on their right, females on their left, sides, with faces towards the sacred grove. Sticks are placed over the mouth of the grave and are plastered with clay. Branches of shea and lunn trees are intertwined and placed on the grave, and a pole bearing the family skulls is set up. A goat, or in the case of a poor man a fowl, is killed, and the flesh divided amongst the relatives, whose presence is required. In old days on the death of a big man, people were killed at the funeral that their spirits might accompany his. The skulls were left on the grave till the flesh was gone, when they were added to the family trophies.

● [782]

765 After seven days the bereaved relatives make beer, and four days later a pot of it is brought to the grave, on which fresh shea and lunn branches are laid, and the most important Elder present pours some over the grave, saying mystic words the while, three several times. A goat or fowl is again killed and the blood poured over the branches. The flesh is cooked and eaten, and the beer drunk by the men, who sit round in a circle. The remainder of the beer is consumed in the sacred grove, the women and children drinking in their own houses, while a perpetual sound of horns and drumming is maintained.

On the occasion of the first harvest after a burial, gia and acha flour and water are poured over the grave and another drinking festival held. Subsequently if anyone dreams of the dead beer must be similarly obtained.

[787]

428 429 A grown-up man inherits his father's house, and such wives as his father's brothers may not care to take. In the event of the sons being children the deceased's eldest brother manages the property for them.